

THE MOUNTAINEER.

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY.
SATURDAY, MARCH 16, 1861.

TO OUR READERS.

We had prepared a few of our views upon the passing events in our nation, and although ourselves considered them somewhat sublime, we were inclined to the opinion that our readers would be better pleased to read the news of the late dates from the East than pause to consider our opinions.

DISTRICT COURT.

We had prepared for press a complete report of the proceedings of the District Court for the third judicial district of the territory, but were compelled to defer its publication till next week, when it will be given in full. Conscientiously we can say that the report will at least do no discredit to his honor Judge Kinney who presided. Important decisions were given upon points of law often contested here, and which we shall endeavor to obtain and give to our readers faithfully.

Eastern News.

NEW YORK, Feb. 13.—Three boxes of ammunition, one containing 2000 boxes of percussion caps, and the others, five thousand and cartridges with balls attached, designed for minnie rifles, were seized by the police, on board the steamer *Huntville*, destined for Savannah.

TERMINAL STORM IN BALTIMORE, DOING GREAT DAMAGE.—Baltimore, Feb. 7.—A terrific north-west gale has prevailed here since 1 o'clock, doing considerable damage. Some thirty houses have been unroofed, walls and chimneys demolished, and trees uprooted. The tide lowered three feet in the harbor under the influence of the wind. The telegraph lines in this neighborhood are considerably damaged.

HEAVY STORM IN PHILADELPHIA.—Philadelphia, Feb. 7.—A furious gale of wind occurred here to-day, prostrating the wires of the National Telegraph Company and doing other damage.

THE SUFFERING IN KANSAS.—Atchison, Feb. 6.—Mr. W. W. Jerome, of Irving, Marshall county, eighty miles from this place, says that the cattle and hogs in his neighborhood are actually starving, and that the inhabitants are nearly destitute of food, and must perish unless relief is speedily afforded. The desperation of despair is seizing upon them. Their teams are giving out, and they are too weak to make their way through the snow. Some have been four weeks in trying to get from the Republican forks to Atchison, and have turned back disappointed. The population of Marshall county is about 3,000. Mr. Jerome has himself a son-in-law with all possible dispatch, fearing that the people upon the Little Blue will suffer from hunger before he can get back with supplies. The condition of the roads in this region is now so bad that only about ten miles a day can be traveled.

PERTINENT QUESTION.—Dr. Raphael, an eminent Jewish Rabbi, of New York, in his sermon on the fast day, asked:—"How dare you, in the face of the sanction and protection afforded to slave property in the Ten Commandments—how dare you denounce slaveholding as a sin? When you remember that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Job—the men with whom the Almighty conversed, with whose names he emphatically connects with his own most holy name, and to whom he vouchsafed to give the character of 'perfect, upright, fearing God, and eschewing evil'—that all these men were slaveholders, does it not strike you that you are guilty of something very little short of blasphemy?"

RAVAGES OF THE DYPTHERIA IN MAINE.—The Farmington *Chronicle* says:—"This fearful disease is making sad ravages around us, in every direction. In one small neighborhood in Chesterville, we understand that ten persons have fallen its victims within a brief period. In one family the father died while his child was being conveyed to his burial. In another, three children lay dead in the house at one time, and four more prostrated with the disease. Scores of families in this and adjoining towns are mourning the loss of one or more loved ones, who have been smitten down with the fatal disease."

TELEGRAPHIC NEWS BY PONY.

["The Pony" which arrived in this city on Tuesday, the 13th inst., left Kearney on the 5th inst. It brought the anxiously looked-for inaugural address of President Lincoln, which we give as complete as the dispatches will allow. The public will be lenient enough to excuse any ambiguity, as Mr. Elsworth, the telegraph agent at Fort Kearney, states that the "line is down at the mouth of the Platte River, and two operators had to be there laboring under great disadvantages, repeating and ferrying dispatches."]

Washington dispatches of the 28th ult., received at St. Louis, state that the motion to reconsider the vote by which Mr. Corwin's prepared amendments to the Constitution yesterday failed to receive the required two-thirds vote was announced as the first business in order. After speeches from Kilgore and Stanton, the former in favor of the proposition, and the latter against a reconsideration, it was carried 128 against 65. Great confusion followed by tumultuous applause from both the Republican and Democratic sides of the House, and from the galleries.

The same dispatch says the Select Committee of five on the President's course of receiving Commissioners from South Caro-

lina reported to the House. The committee regard the mission itself as well as the manner in which it was treated by the President among the most remarkable events of the extraordinary times in which we live. The committee cannot perceive on what principle the President assumed to entertain or to hold official communication with the representatives of South Carolina; for it seems obvious enough that under the principle announced in his annual message, the commissioners could be regarded in no other light than as engaged in a revolutionary effort to subvert the government, and it would have been the plain duty of the Executive to enforce the laws against individuals known or suspected of complicity in any movement of a treasonable character. They fail to see any circumstances justifying the President in entertaining diplomatic intercourse with that State, except on the assumption that she was an independent power; and that the President, by according them an official reply, involved to some extent a recognition of the assumed position of the rebellious State. The committee conclude the report by saying that they are not able to resist the inference that in the beginning of the movements against the government there were relations of an extremely friendly character between those contemplating rebellion and those whose duty it was to suppress it.

John Cochrane's report is a virtual defense of the President, and denies that he recognized the commissioners officially and attributes the censure of the President to party feeling.

St. Louis, March 1, a.m. The proceedings of the U. S. Senate yesterday were of deep interest, and culminated rather to dampen the hopes of peace, excited by the action of the peace conference and the House of Representatives.

After some preliminary business, and while the Post Office Appropriation Bill was under consideration, by consent, Mr. Crittenden, from the select committee on the proposition adopted by the Peace Conference, offered a report recommending the adoption of that proposition.

Mr. Seward said the senator from Illinois (Trumbull) and himself formed a minority of that committee, and wished to submit a substitute as a minority report; but the majority thought it was not competent, so he asked leave to submit a joint resolution in his own name, in which the senator from Illinois concurred.

Whereas, The Legislatures of Kentucky, Illinois and New Jersey have applied to Congress to call a convention to propose amendments to the Constitution; therefore,

Resolved, That the other States be invited to take the subject into consideration, and express their will upon the subject to Congress, in pursuance of the fifth article of the Constitution.

Mr. Hale objected to the consideration of the report that day. The report and amendment and joint resolution were ordered to be printed, and laid over, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of other matters. One o'clock having arrived, a discussion arose whether the consideration of the report of the select committee was then in order.

Messrs. Hale and Fessenden contended that it was not in order.

Mr. Crittenden replied to Mr. Fessenden, saying the senator had no right to characterize anything, he said, as presumptuous.

Mr. Fessenden: I did not say any such thing.

Mr. Crittenden: You did, sir, if I understand.

Mr. Fessenden: Well, sir, I did not, but the senator can take it as he pleases.

Mr. Crittenden, turning towards Mr. Fessenden's desk, with his back to the chair, going close to Mr. Fessenden, said something which was inaudible in the gallery.

The Chair called the senator to order. The resolutions were taken up, 26 to 28. Hale objected to a third reading and they were made a special order for to-day, March 1st, at 12.30.

While these proceedings were being had the post office bill was also under consideration in the intervals. Mr. Wilson moved an amendment changing the Butterfield route; and providing for a mail by the central route to California, and the pony express for \$1,150,000, adopted by 21 to 19. When, on motion of Mr. Gwin the amount specified in the amendment was reduced to \$1,000,000 by a vote of 29 to 14; and in this form the bill passed.

During the proceedings of the day the Senate concurred in the House amendment to the Oregon war debt bill, reducing the amount.

A bill donating land in Minnesota and Oregon, for school purposes, passed in the House.

St. Louis, March 1st, p.m. In the House, Mr. Washburn, of Illinois, moved to postpone the report of the committee of 33 till the 4th of June: No action had.

A motion to take up the bill extending time on the Pacific telegraph failed.

Wake co., North Carolina, gives 1600 majority for Union ticket; Wayne county, 1000 majority for secession. Returns from Hanover, Brunswick and Duplin, are largely favorable to secession.

A despatch from Richmond, Feb. 28th, says.—Messrs. Tyler and Sedden were serenaded to-night; both spoke. Mr. Tyler denounced the result of the conference, as a worthless affair and said that the South had nothing to hope for from Republicans.

Mr. Ludden said it was a delusion, a shame, an insult and an offense to the South.

Lieut. Montague made a secession speech. The secession feeling is increasing. Colorado territorial bill has been approved.

Capt. Pope, U. S. A., one of Mr. Lincoln's traveling suite, is to be court-martialed for speaking disrespectfully of Mr. Buchanan in the lecture on fortifications, delivered recently at Cincinnati.

The correspondence on the files of the War Department show conclusively that Gov. Houston has been greatly instrumental in inducing Gen. Twiggs to surrender government property in Texas.

Reported sickness of Major Anderson is contradicted by himself.

Advices from Charleston state that the floating battery was launched on Monday, the 26th ult., and the *Dahlia Green* gun was hourly expected. All troops on furlough were ordered to return by Wednesday, the 6th.

On the 31st, Peace Congress adopted Guthrie's proposition modified. Great rejoicing at the result. Gen. Scott ordered a salute of 100 guns. Stocks advanced from 3 to 5 per cent. Hopes of peace greatly raised. Yesterday, however, when the proposition of the Peace Congress was presented to the Senate, several efforts to amend by substitution, and expressed a desire to call a national convention. These movements, together with the expressions of Tyler and Ludden at Richmond, to the effect that it was useless to expect justice from the North, and that the conference was a failure; caused a damper to fall on all hopes for peace. Stocks to day dull and lower.

No disposition is manifested by Congress to pass the Peace Conference propositions, which require a two-thirds vote.

Gen. Twiggs has been stricken from the army roll as a coward and traitor. Unconfirmed reports state that he has been shot.

The bill stopping the mails to the seceding states passed both Houses.

European parties to the 15th, state that another pamphlet on France, Rome and Italy had appeared.

Gaeta was expected to capitulate on the 14th.

St. Louis, March 2, a.m. Yesterday, the House passed the bill reported by the committee of 33, amending to the fugitive slave law, requiring state courts to return fugitives to the U. S. Courts in the states from which they escape, in which states also they shall have trial by jury. The vote was 92 to 82.

Several ineffectual attempts were made in the House to take up the Peace Conference report.

In the Senate the same matter was discussed yesterday. Crittenden was willing to make any sacrifice of his private views for peace.

Mason denounced the plan as subversive of what rights the South already had.

Baker urged the propriety of submitting the question to the people. He was willing to violate the Chicago platform, and give up a great deal to the border states, but nothing to the seceding states.

Green pronounced the plan to be more twaddle; but said there was something in Crittenden's compromise.

No action taken on the subject.

St. Louis, March 3, a.m. In the House yesterday the Senate amendment to the Post Office Appropriation bill was taken up, and concurred in 117 to 43. It was presented in the Senate by Wilson, and amends present Butterfield mail route to California by El Paso, which now costs \$600,000 for semi-weekly letter service; but during the remainder of their contract time, three and a half years, gives them the Central Overland route in lieu of the other. They are to carry it daily at one million, and deliver the mail at Denver and Salt Lake tri-weekly, and to run a Pony Express semi-weekly, carrying five pounds each trip for government free of charge; and reducing cost of letters by said express, one dollar per half ounce. If Butterfield & Co. fail to accept this before the 25th of March, present contract to be absolutely annulled, and Central route contract to be let to the lowest bidder, not exceeding one million. Entire letter mail to be carried through daily in twenty days, and the residue in thirty-five days, with privilege of sending latter by steamer in twenty-five days, at contractor's expense; the latter to receive two months pay for damages for change of service from southern to central route.

The Butterfield Company were required by Mr. Cullax and Mr. Sherman's amendments to enter into a written agreement, to be filed in the Post Office Department, and to be incorporated into their contract, agreeing to carry six hundred pounds mail matter per trip, which is expected to take all the daily papers, besides letters; and also that they relinquish all claims for all damages provided in the Senate amendment bill.

The Senate amendment bill, after some debate, was concurred in exactly as it came from the Senate; so it is now a law. It reduces cost of mail service to California from \$1,437,000 to one million; increases service to daily; concentrates mail carrying on one line, and abrogates the Butterfield contract without incurring any claims for damages.

Bingham moved to suspend the rules for the purpose of taking up his bill for the forcible collection of the revenue. Lost, ayes 103; nays 62. Not two-thirds.

Report of select committee concluded with a resolution that the Secretary of the Navy, in accepting without delay or inquiry the resignations of officers of the navy who were in arms against the Government when tendering the same, and of those who sought to resign that they might be relieved from the restraint imposed by their commissions and who were about engaging in hostility to the constituted authorities of the nation, has committed a grave error, highly prejudicial to the discipline of the service, and injurious to the honor and efficacy of the navy, for which he deserves the censure of this House. A motion to lay on the table was lost, 57 to 96. Resolution adopted.

In the Senate yesterday the plan of the Peace Congress coming up, Lane made a speech in favor of secession.

A message was received from President Buchanan, giving his reasons for assembling a force at the national capital. He says it was not so large as the resolution presupposes, and that it was designed to act as a *peace comitatus* in strict accordance with civil authorities for the preservation of the peace of the capital. He thinks circumstances justified that step, and that when troops were first ordered to the city, the excitement and danger almost instantly subsided. He thinks the step a judicious one, and that he would never have forgiven himself, had any unpleasant event occurred, in consequence of a failure to provide proper precautionary measures.

Buchanan has postponed the court-martial of Capt. Pope.

A fugitive slave was rescued from two deputy marshals yesterday at New York, they were attempting to put him aboard a steamer. The officers had no warrant.

It is stated that Jeff. Davis has not been in Charleston at all.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF MR. LINCOLN.

Fellow-Citizens of the United States: In compliance with a custom as old as the government itself, I appear to address you briefly, and to take, in your presence, the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, to be taken by the President, before he enters on the execution of his office. I do not consider it necessary, at present, for me to discuss matters of administration, about which there is no special excitement.

The apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that by the accession of a Republican administration, their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed, and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do not quote from one of those speeches, when I declare that I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so. I have no inclination to do so. Those who nominate and elect me, did so with the full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them, and more than this they placed in the platform for my acceptance, as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution, which I now read:

Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order, and to control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment, exclusively, is essential to the balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by an armed force of the government of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, to be among the gravest of crimes.

I now reiterate those and in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible. That the property, peace and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States, when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause, as cheerfully to one section as to another.

There is much controversy about the delivery of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions. "No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered upon claim to the party to whom such service or labor may be due." It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended, by those who made it, for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the law given is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this portion as much as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause and shall be delivered up, their oaths are unanimous now. If they would make the effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly unanimous frame and pass a law by means of which they would make good the unanimous oath? There is some difference of opinion whether these clauses should be enforced by national or State authority; but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done; and should any one in any case be content that his oath shall be kept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept? Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in all the civilized and human jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a former may in any case surrender as a slave; and might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution, which guarantees that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States?

I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations, and no purpose to construe the Constitution and law by any private rules, and while I do not choose

now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for persons, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all these acts which stand untrampled, than to violate any of them—trusting to find security in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our national Constitution. During that period, fifteen different, and greatly distinguished citizens, have in succession administered the Executive Department. This branch of the government they have conducted through many perils, generally with great success, yet with all this escape for precedence, I now enter upon the same task, for the Constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulty. Disruption of the federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formally attempted. I hold, then, in contemplation of universal law and the Constitution, that the Union of the States is perpetual.

Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that the Government proper had a provision in its organic law for its own perpetuity. Continuity to execute all the express provisions of our national Constitution, and the Union will endure forever. It being impossible to destroy it, except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again, if the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States, in the nature of a contract, merely, it can, as a contract, be peaceably and lawfully dissolved. One party to the contract may violate it, break it so to speak; but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it? Depending from these general principles, we find the proposition, that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual, confirmed by history itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the articles of association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence, in 1776. It was further matured on the faith of all the then thirteen States, expressly pledged, and engaged that it should be perpetual. By the article of Confederation, in 1776, and finally in 1789, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing a Constitution was to form a more perfect Union by all or by a part only of the States. Possibly, the Union is less than before the Constitution, having lost the vital element of perpetuity. It follows from these views, that no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances. I, therefore, consider that in view of the Constitution and laws, the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed, in all the States. Doing this, I deem it to be only a simple duty on my part, and I shall perform it, so far as practicable, unless my rightful master, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary.

I trust that this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of Union; that it will bear the construction only to defend and maintain itself. In doing this there need be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power conferred to me will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect duties on imports; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no using of force against or among people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States, in any interior location, shall be so great and so universal, as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people at that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego for a time, the use of such office. The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all points of the Union, so far as possible. The people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thoughts and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised according to circumstances actually existing, and with a view and hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles, and the restoration of the fraternal sympathies and affections. That there are disunionists in one section or another, who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm or deny; but if there be such, I need address no words. To those, however, who rely on the Union, may I speak before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits and its hopes. Would it not be well to ascertain previously why we do and will hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of its life may yet have a real existence. Will you, while the certain life you fly to, risk the commission of so fearful a mistake? All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right plainly written in the Constitution has been denied? I think not.

Happily, the human mind is so constituted that no parties can reach to the nakedty of doing this thing. Can you offer a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied? If, by the mere force of members a majority shall deprive a minority of any clearly written Constitutional right, it might in a moral point of view justify a division. It certainly would, if such a right were a vital one, but such is not our case. All the vital rights of minorities and individuals are so plainly assumed by them in affirmations, and legisla-

tion, guarantees, and propositions in the Constitution that controversy never arises concerning them, but no organic law can be formed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate nor any document of reasonable length contain express provisions for all possible questions.

Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered up by national or state authority? The Constitution does not expressly say. May congress prohibit slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. From questions of this class spring all our controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities. The majority must rule or the government must cease.

There is no other alternative for continuing the government. Let acquiescence on the one side or the other. If a minority in such case will secede rather than acquiesce they make a precedent which in turn will divide and ruin them. For instance, why may not a portion of a new Confederacy a year or two hence, arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this. As there is such perfect identity in the interests of the States to compose a new Union as to produce harmony only and prevent renewed secession, is the essence of anarchy. A secession held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereignty of a free people. Whoever rejects it does of necessity fly to anarchy and despotism. Unanimity is impossible. The will of a majority as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadvisable, so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy and despotism in some form, is all that is left. I do not forget the position assumed by some, that the Constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decision must be binding in any case upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to a very high respect and consideration in a parallel case by all other departments of the government, and while it is obviously possible that such decisions may be erroneous, in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that peculiar case, will be better borne than could the evils of a different practice—at the same time the candid citizen must confess that, if the government upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irreconcilably fixed by the decision of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal action, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that tribunal; nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink, to decide cases properly brought before them; and it is no fault of theirs, if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes.

One section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute, for the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution and the laws for the suppression of the foreign slave trade are just as well enforced, perhaps, as any can ever be. In a community where the moral sense of the people supports the law itself, the great body of the people abide by the legal obligations in both cases. After the separation of the two sections, the foreign slave trade now imperfectly suppressed would be ultimately revived without restriction in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other. Physically speaking, we cannot separate, cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. The husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence or beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face, and an intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible then to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully observed between aliens than laws among friends? Suppose you go to war, you can not fight always, and when, after much loss on both sides, there is no gain on either. You cease to fight, and the old identical questions as to terms of intercourse are again before you.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their Constitutional rights of amending it or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself, and I should under existing circumstances favor rather than oppose a fair opportunity being offered for the people to act upon it. I will venture to add that the Constitution made seems preferable, inasmuch as it allows the amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject a proposition originated by others, not specially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be preferred, nor such as they would wish to either refuse or reject. I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution, which amendment, however, I have not seen, has passed Congress, to the effect that the federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service, to avoid a misconception of what I have said, I depart from my purpose to speak of particular amendments so far as to say that holding implied Constitutional law I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable. The

Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people and they have conferred none upon him to fix forms for the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this also, if they choose; but the Executive as such, has nothing to do with it—his duty is to administer and preserve the Government, as it came to his hand, and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor.

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences, is either party without faith of being in right of the Almighty Ruler of nations, with his eternal truth and justice on every side? If on the North, or on the South, that truth and justice will surely prevail. By the judgment of this great tribunal—the American people shall stand or fall. By the form of government under which we live this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have, with equal wisdom, provided for the disposal of that little by their own hands at very short intervals.

While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration in any extreme of wickedness or folly can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years. My countrymen, one and all, have a voice, and will upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it.

Such of you as are now dissatisfied, still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing unimpaired, while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you, who are dissatisfied should be on the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on him who has never yet forsaken his favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulties. In your hands, my dissatisfied countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you; you can no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect and defend it. I am loath to close; we are not enemies but friends; we must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not sever our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle field, and patriot's grave, to every loving heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will surely swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely as they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

St. Louis, Mar. 3

During the session of Sunday night, the United States Senate adopted the Corwin resolution by vote of 24 to 13 and rejected the Crittenden proposition by 19 to 20. This was the only business of importance up to the close of the 28th Congress. Both Houses were in session Monday morning, and the House particularly was kept busy with reports of Committees and messages from the President, signaling his approval of different measures; there was nothing however done of importance. The session of the Senate on Sunday night lasted almost till dawn on Monday morning, the debate on the Crittenden and Corwin propositions engaging attention. It was participated in by Crittenden, Douglas, Wade, Wigfall, Trumbull and others. The crowd continued in the galleries until a late hour, but dropped off as morning approached.

The morning of the fourth was clear and beautiful; places of business were closed in the city, a vast throng filled the National Capitol. The Capitol building was filled at an early hour, and the streets and avenues were alive with human beings in accordance with established usage and the inauguration was conducted as previously announced. At five minutes past twelve the Vice President elect was conducted by the Vice President and Senator Foot, of the Committee of arrangements, to a room on the left of the chair. As the hands pointed to twelve the hammer fell, and the session of the old Congress closed. Vice President Breckinridge bade the Senate farewell, and administered the oath of office to Hamlin, when Breckinridge announced the Senate adjourned sine die.

New Senators were then sworn in at this juncture. Members of the old and new House rushed in filling the floor; the galleries were crowded with ladies and gentlemen, and the diplomatic quarter more crowded than on any similar previous occasion. It presented a gorgeous spectacle. The scene in the Senate, while waiting for the arrival of the President, seemed to realize the lying down of the lion and the lamb together, or the mingling of oil and water.

Messrs. Chase, Wigfall, Crittenden, Wilson, and others were opposite each other with the utmost cordiality. Senator Breckinridge conversed familiarly with the extremest men of the republic, while ladies of all political affluities, Mrs. Hamlin among them, looked on. The attendance of Senators was unusually full, the only absentees noticed being those of Hon. Mr. Mason, and Hon. Mr. Hunter, of Va.

At thirteen minutes to one o'clock the Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States were announced by the door-keeper of the Senate. On their entrance all on the floor rose, and the venerable judges, headed by Chief Justice Taney, moved slowly to the seats assigned to them immediately to the right of the Vice President, each exchanging salutes with that officer in passing the chair.

At ten minutes after one an unusual bustle announced the arrival of the Presidential party. At fifteen minutes past one the President and President elect were

Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people and they have conferred none upon him to fix forms for the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this also, if they choose; but the Executive as such, has nothing to do with it—his duty is to administer and preserve the Government, as it came to his hand, and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor.

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences, is either party without faith of being in right of the Almighty Ruler of nations, with his eternal truth and justice on every side? If on the North, or on the South, that truth and justice will surely prevail. By the judgment of this great tribunal—the American people shall stand or fall. By the form of government under which we live this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have, with equal wisdom, provided for the disposal of that little by their own hands at very short intervals.

While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration in any extreme of wickedness or folly can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years. My countrymen, one and all, have a voice, and will upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you, in hot haste, to a step which you would never